

Three Madras Museum Copperplate Grants of Saka 1544, 1565 and 1566

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The following copies of the Kelāḍi and Baṅgar copper-plate grants were kindly given to me by the Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., who procured them from the Curator, Government Museum, Madras. To both my indebtedness is hereby acknowledged. These grants have already been noticed by Sewell in his *Lists*¹.

I THE KELADI GRANT OF SAKA 1544.

It opens with the usual invocation to Śambhu. It records that Eḍava Murāri, Kōte Kolāhala, Vishudha Vaidikādvaita Sidhānta Pratishṭhāpaka, studying devotion to the Śiva-guru, Kelāḍi Venkaṭapa-nāyaka's son, Bhaḍrappa-nāyaka's son, Vīrabhaḍrappa Nāyaka, on Āshvija Śudha Panchami, of the Prajōtpatti Samvatsara, of the Śālivahana Śaka 1554, made a gift of land in the Koppa Grāma, in the Kelāḍi-sīma, (specified in detail), for the conduct of the service of the god Venkaṭeśvara worshipped at the Sēthagōpaya Maṭha, of Uppāragiri, with all rights. The date of the grant is Śaka 1554 Prajōtpatti Samvatsara Āsvija Śudha 5. But $1544 + 78 = \text{A. D. } 1632$, which is Āṅgīrasa but not Prajōtpatti as stated in the grant. "The cyclic year Prajōtpatti corresponds to Ś. 1553"². The date is not verifiable for want of other details³. The language of the grant is in modern Kannaḍa. It concludes with the usual verses about the witnesses—the Sun, and Moon, Wind, Fire, Sky, Earth, Water, Heat, Yama, Day and Night, the two Twilights and Justice—these know a man's actions. The signature is that of Sri Venkaṭādri.

¹ Sewell, *List, II*, p. 16 Nos. 106, 103, 104; Hendersen, *Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants in the Madras Museum*, p. 72, No. 14; p. 60, Nos. 7 and 6; Rangachari, *A Topographical List of the South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 870, No. 297; p. 848, No. 4; p. 848, No. 5.

² Henderson, *o. c.*, p. 72.

³ I am indebted to Dr. Shama Sastry, Ph. D., for the verification of dates in all these three copper-plate grants.

The mode in which the Keḷaḍi Kings subscribed in their grants deserves to be explained. Apparently an insignificant point, it nevertheless speaks something about their faith. It has been taken for granted that they were Lingayats¹; and that their two titles, "Vishudha Vaidikādvaita Siddhānta Pratishṭāpaka" and "Shivagurubhakti pārayāṇa", are a proof of their devotion to Siva. This is to some extent supported by the fact that the last Huncha chief, as mentioned in the Jaina accounts, was a Śiva-bhakta under the name of Gunte Voḍeyar, the progenitor of the Keḷaḍi family². Buchanan speaks of the "Kilidi" family, which originally consisted of hereditary chiefs (Gowdas) of five or six cottages, and of their being Shivabhaktas of the Malavar caste³. Tradition lends support to the view that they were Sudras by caste⁴.

The origin of the family as given in the *Sivatattvaratnākara* by Baṣava Rāja of Keḷaḍi, also speaks of the dream of Chowdappa, father of Sadāśiva, of the Linga, and of the treasure trove⁵. Buchanan relates of a dream which Sadāśiva had and of the temple of Ishvara which he built by orders of the god who appeared to him in the dream⁶.

There cannot be a doubt that the founders of the Ikkeri dynasty were reared in the atmosphere of Saivism. Whether in their zeal for the Śiva cult they converted many of the Jainas into their faith or not will not be discussed here⁷. Almost all their inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śambhu. That the capital itself was a centre of Saivism can be made out from the fact that at Ikkeri there is a temple of

¹ Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 156.

² Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 355, note.

³ Buchanan, *A Journey through Malabar, Kanara*, II, p. 254.

⁴ Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 178, note 1; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

⁵ *Sivatattvayatnakara*, Kallola V, Ch. II. (Ed. by Rama Rao and Sundora Sastriar)

⁶ Buchanan, o. c., II, pp. 255-256.

⁷ Cf. Heras, o. c., p. 529; Wilson, o. c., p. 62; Burnell, *The Karkat Statue*, I. A., II, p. 353.

Virabhadra with thirty-two hands¹. An inscription of 1577 speaks of Rāma Rāya Nāyaka holding faith in Śiva as his chief aim². In 1621 Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka re-established the grants of the Śringēri mathas³. Most of the Ikkeri grants were for the Mahattu mathas of the Lingayats. An inscription of 1709 ends in the following manner:—

“Wheresoever a yogiśvara performs the worship of Śivalinga but once, there dwell all tirthas, O Guha! A grant made to a Śivabhakta from love of Hara is declared to be pure, and the means of ever-lasting salvation”⁴.

Another of 1712 ends in the same manner⁵. In 1720 Sōmaśēkara granted lands for the expense of the Somēśvara temple at Tirtharājapura⁶. All these must lead one to the conclusion that the Keḷaḍi Kings were orthodox Saivites.

But were they really orthodox Saivites? The foundation of the principality is to be traced, not, as Buchanan relates, to a Badraconda, son of Basavappa, who received the name of Sadāśiva, in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya⁷, but to Sadāśiva Nāyaka, son of Chowdappa, who was appointed governor over Keḷaḍi by Emperor Sadāśiva⁸. Now, it must be remembered that the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, even granting that Buchanan's tradition has some truth behind it, were times when the Vaishnava influence was on the ascendancy. That Emperor's poetical composition, the *Amuktamālyādaya* is a proof of the rising tide of Vaishnavism⁹. Since the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya Vaishnavism was gradually spreading over the Empire. The Emperors themselves were Vaishnava in faith. The great Veṅkaṭa II was a Vaishnava¹⁰. Veṅkaṭādri, the brother of Rāma Raya, conferred

¹ M. A. R., 1910-1911, p. 21.

² E. C., VIII, Sb, 475.

³ E. C., VI, Sq, 5.

⁴ E. C., VI, Kp, 60.

⁵ E. C., VII, Sh, 20.

⁶ M. A. R., 1910-1911, No. 55, p. 126.

⁷ Buchanan, o. c., II, 254.

⁸ Heras, o. c., p. 178; E. C., VI, p. 22.

⁹ *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, Southern Circle, 1925, p. 91-92.

¹⁰ Heras, o. c., p. 546; *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 1. c.

on Sadāśiva Nāyaka the governorship of Bārakurarājya¹. True, under Veṅkaṭa II Saivism found patronage in Vellore, Ikkeri, and even in the little principality of Ullāl². But however much the Nāyaks of Vellore and Ikkeri championed the cause of Saivism, it is certain that the faith of the monarchs, and the faith that was making giant strides over the Empire, must certainly have exerted some influence over them.

And we see this in the inscriptions and grants of the Ikkeri chiefs. In 1577 an inscription of Rāma Rāya Nāyaka describing an enquiry which he held as regards the mismanagement of the agrahāra of Sadāśivapura, opens with the usual obeisance to Ganādhīpathi and to Śambhu, but also contains a salutation to the Boar³. The Boar can be traced to the Vaishnava influence⁴. This inscription, however, ends with "Śri Sadāśiva". In 1616 Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka granted lands for the matha of the Rāmānuja sect at Ikkeri, and for the god Veṅkaṭeśvara⁵. In 1630 Vīrabhadra Nāyaka gave a gift to Timmana's son Linganna for the perpetual lamp of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara, in the pēṭe of Ratnapura in the Kariur-sime⁶. The grant under review records a gift of land by the same ruler to the authorities of the Saṭhagōpaya matha for the conduct of the service of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara. In 1640 Vīrabhadra Nāyaka granted lands yielding 80 varāhas in Maduvanke-nāḍ, for the expenses of the gods Lakshminarasimha and Sachchidānandēśvara, whom Purushōttumayya Rāmakṛishṇayya had set up in Tirtharājapura⁷. In 1641 again the same monarch granted lands for the Basarur matha, with an instruction that "out of this grant 6½ formerly granted for god Shankarnarayana at the stream of the village, will be paid at the regular time, and the balance of 67 varāha, 9 hana, 3 hāga will be taken for the matha"⁸. In 1664 Bhadrappa

¹ *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, Southern Circle, 1901, No. 163; Heras, o. c., p. 179. ² Heras, o. c., p. 549.

³ *E. C.*, VIII, T1, 5.

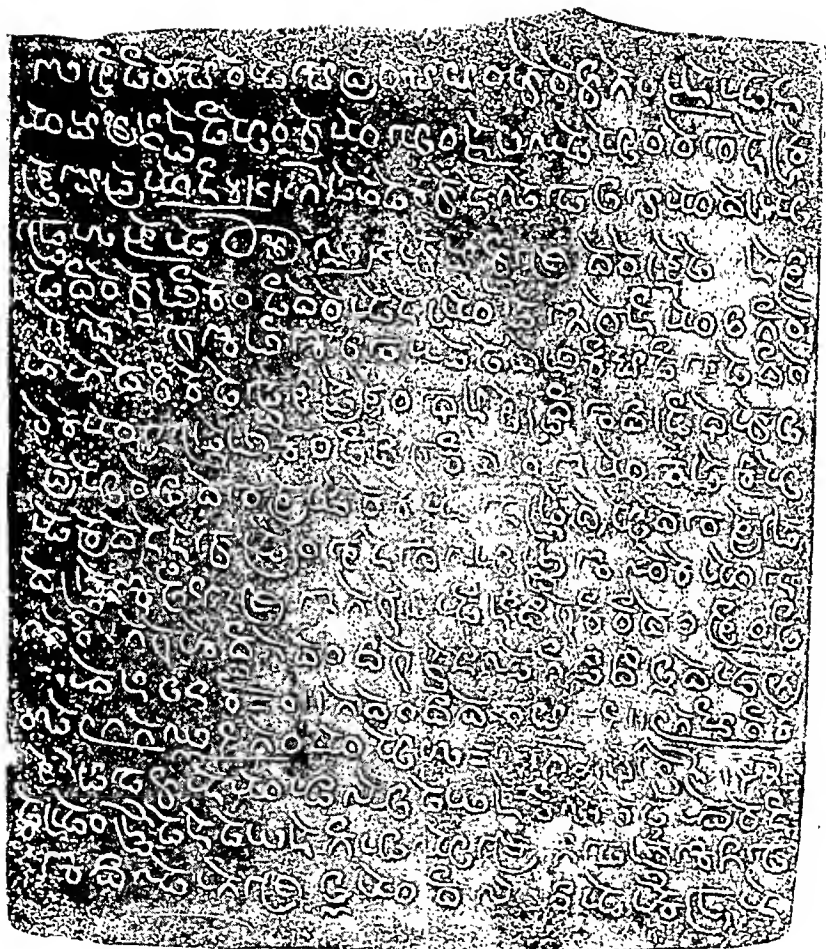
⁴ Cf. *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47.

⁵ *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 79.

⁶ *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 157.

⁷ *E. C.*, VIII, T1, 4, 31.

⁸ *E. C.*, VIII, T1, 88.



Keladi grant by Virabhadra Nayaka, S.S. 1554.
(Obverse.)



Keladi grant by Virabhadra Nayaka, S.S. 1554.
(Reverse.)

granted to Lakshmana for the expenses of the god Shankarnarayana of the Shankarnarayana agrahāra on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra¹. A grant of Sōmaśēkara in 1665 contains an invocation to the Boar². In 1666 together with Ganesha, the Boar is also invoked³. This epigraph ends with "Śri Kṛishṇa". In 1674 a grant of Vīrabhadra to Basavalinga ends with "Śri Rāmakṛishṇa"⁴. In 1702 there is again an invocation to the Boar⁵.

The grants issued in the year 1575 and 1577 are in the name of Śri Sadāśiva⁶. But in 1592 we have "Śri Veṅkaṭādri"⁷. In 1604 we have again "Śri Sadāśiva"⁸, but from 1615 we have "Śri Veṅkaṭādri"⁹. In 1659 there comes again "Śri Sadāśiva"¹⁰. In 1660 the King signs in the name of "Śri Veṅkaṭādri"¹¹. From 1662 till 1666 we have the name of "Śri Sadāśiva"¹². But in 1666, as noted above, we have also "Śri Kṛishṇa"; and excepting the year 1674 when both "Śri Sadāśiva" and "Śri Rāmakṛishṇa" appear¹³, all the Ikkeri grants till 1740 conclude with "Śri Sadāśiva".

From the fact that the whole of the Empire since the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was permeated with the ideas of Vaishnavism; that the Emperors themselves were strongly Vaishnavite in their belief; and that grants in the name of "Veṅkaṭādri" are intermixed with those bearing the signatures of "Sadāśiva", it must be evident that the Ikkeri rulers, who originally belonged to the caste of the Malavaru¹⁴

¹ E. C., VIII, T1, 34.

² Ibid.,

³ Ibid., 156.

⁴ Ibid., 188.

⁵ Ibid., 110 and 136.

⁶ Ibid., 204 and 5; Sb, 475.

⁷ M. A. R., 1923, p. 107.

⁸ E. C., VIII, T1, 185.

⁹ E. C., VI, Sg, 5; Kp, 61; VII, Sh, 2; VIII, Nr, 79; Sa, 108, 157; T1, 3, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 54, 56, 57, 62, 66, 82, 83, 84, 94, 97, 101, 165, 181, 182; M. A. R., 1923, pp. 82, 88, 92, 95, 112.

¹⁰ E. C., VIII, T1, 81.

¹¹ Ibid., Sa, 44.

¹² Ibid., T1, 7, 48,

53, 55, 76, 80, 85, 86, 92, 96, 145; M. A. R., 1923, p. 100.

¹³ E. C., VIII, Sa, 53; T1, 70, 73, 184, 188.

¹⁴ Buchanan, l. c.

and as such were nurtured in the ideas of pure Saivism, must have for some reason, of state rather than of conviction, adopted a more liberal attitude towards the other faith that was making rapid and more powerful strides over the Empire. That the Ikkeri rulers were certainly broad-minded is evident from the grants which they made to persons who were neither Vaishnavites nor Saivites. A steady adherence to the Lingyat faith seems to have disappeared since the last days of Sadāśiva. Doḍḍa Sankana Nāyaka, the elder son of Sadāśiva, nominated by Bhadrappa as his successor, is said to have been deposed by Rāma Rāya for putting a Jan-gama priest to death¹. An infuriated action of one individual might not have had, perhaps, much to do with the eclectic tastes of the Ikkeri monarchs. But it is evident that to a large degree they were tolerant rulers. In 1631 Vīrabhadra Nāyaka gave a gift of land to the Masuti (Masjid) at the Tāvāragere pond in Anandapura². In 1719 Sōmaśēkara gave a grant of land to the Virakta matha in the Kalaūr village³. These together with the grants given above might explain to us the fact of a "Śri Sadāśiva" being mixed up so often with a "Śri Veṅkaṭādrī" in their inscriptions.

T e x t.

Namastuṅga shira shumbi Chandra Chāmara chāravēt-railōkyana (ga)rāmbha mūlasthambhāya Sambhave Svasti Śri Jayābhyudaya Śālivāhana Śaka varusha 1554 neya Prajō-t patti samvatsarada Āśvija śu 5 yallu Śrimattu Uppārageri Sethagōpayyana Maṭhada Veṅkaṭeshvara Devara devatā-vechake Eḍava Murāri Kōṭe Kōlāhala Vishudha Vaidikā Dvaita Siddhānta Pratishṭāpaka, Śivā guru bhakti pārayaṇa Keḷaḍi Veṅkaṭapa Nāyakara pantrarāda Bhadrappanāyakara putra Vīrabhadranāyakarū koṭṭa bhūdāna tāmbraśāsanada krama venta endare Keḷaḍi Sime vaḷagaṇa aṇive Koppada grāmadalli divige mānis jagadinda gadde kuḷaga 4 kke sunka rekhe ga 2¹/₂.3 birāḍa dinda ga 1¹/₂.0.³/₄ kke nillsidu ga 93¹/₄.9,

¹ Cf. Heras, o. c., p. 180.

² E. C., VIII, Sa, 108.

³ E. C., VI, Kp, 46.

Suddha 91³/₄.³/₄ (?) ubhayam ga 3 llu ga 12 hanneradu varā-
 hakke saluva bhūmiyanu Sivārpitavāgi koṭṭevāgi ā bhū-
 mige saluva sarvasvāmyavanu prākumariyāde yalli āgumādi
 koṇḍu devatā vechchake kāla kalam pratiyallū naḍasikoṇḍu
 bahudendu koṭṭa dharma śāsana āditya chandrāvanilōnalas-
 cha dyau bhūmir āpō hridayam Yamas cha āhas cha rātrischa
 ubhē cha sandhye dharmascha janāti narasya vrittam Śri
 Veṅkaṭādri.

II THE BANGAR COPPER-PLATES OF SAKA 1565 AND 1566

A. *The Baṅgar Copper-Plate of Śaka 1565*

It opens with the usual invocation to Śambhu. It records a grant of land yielding 150 muḍis of rice, in Aḍyār (Mangalore Taluka), belonging to the Palace to Bhaṇḍi Yellappa Nāyaka's son, Dāsaṇṇa Nāyaka, in the Śaka year 1565 Svabhānu Samvātsara Kartika Bahula Panchami (21st October, 1643 A. D.)¹, for the maintenance of a matha which was built in a garden east of Koḍiyāl (Mangalore) fort, together with a tank, by Śankara Dēvī Baṅgar, sister of Viranarasimha Lakshmappa-arasu Baṅgar. The grant ends with the usual witnesses, Sun, Moon etc., in the manner of the Keḷaḍi grants.

The Baṅgar family from whom both Lakshmappa-arasu and his sister Śankara Dēvī were descended, played a small but significant part in the relations of the Tulu people with the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was known to the Portuguese as Bangel, Banguel, Banghel, Bangher, and Bangheravan². The origin of the Baṅgar family is interesting. The word "Baṅga" is very much allied to the word "Ganga". Vishnuvardana, it is related, defeated and killed in battle Chandraśēkara, the ruler of Gangavāḍi. On the death of Chandraśēkara, five followers of his, Kṛishṇapayya Karṇika, Veṅkaṭapayya, Karṇika Timmapayya, Jyōyisha Kuppa Bhaṭṭa and Balyāya, by name, at first hid themselves in the forests of Malenāḍ and then descended into Mēlbaṅgāḍi in Tuḷuva. When Vishnu's son Viranarasimha, accord-

¹ Sewell, *Lists*, II, 16; Henderson, o. c., p. 60; Rangachari, o. c. II, p. 848.

² Della Valle, *Travels*, II, 302-303.

ing to Tuḷuva tradition, visited Tuḷuva, with the Ganga Prince, the son of Chandraśēkara, was presented to him by the five refugees. Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha had pity on the young Prince, and feeding him with his own hands with milk, granted him fifteen villages on the banks of the river Nētrāvati. These fifteen māgnes were the following:—Keḷa baṅgāḍi, Beḷataṅgaḍi, Mayabaḷalu, Uppinangaḍi, Puttūr, Moger nāḍu, Manināḷkuru, Bayirakajekāru, Baṅṭavāḷa, Koḍiyāl, Sajeepa, Harekaḷa, Varkāḍi, and Manjēśvara. And the Hoysaḷa ruler permitted the Ganga Prince to assume the name of “Vīra Narasiṃha Baṅga Rāya”. It was thus that Narasiṃha Baṅgar laid the beginnings of Baṅgar power in Tuḷuva¹.

In the 17th century, however, this family seemed to have moved from the interior to the coast. For Della Valle, who passed through Canara in 1623, says in a letter dated 1st of December of the same year:—“It is a mile or little more, distant from Mangalore, towards the North, and upon the sea, and the King that ruled there and in the circumjacent lands being at this day driven out, is subject to Venkatapa Naieka. A musket-shot from Mangalore, on that side, is a small river which is passed over by a ruinous stone bridge and may likewise be forded....the above-said mile is through cultivated fields, and then you come to Banghel, which is a rich soil, and sometime better peopled than at present”, etc. etc.². The Baṅgas were the allies of the Portuguese. In 1569 the Viceroy, Don Luis de Atayde, “went to Mangalore, twelve leagues to the south, to settle some disputes there which were prejudicial to trade. The disturbances arose from the enmity between the King of Banguel and the Queen of Olala, whose Kingdoms lay to the north and south of Mangalore respectively. The Viceroy was better received than anticipated. He had an interview with those two monarchs and settled their differences. On his return to Goa, he left with Antonio Botelho, the com-

¹ Aygal, *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Prachina Iihasi* (in Kannada), p. 267. (Snarada Press, Mangalore, 1923).

² Della Valle, II, p. 302.

mander of Barcelore, 600 men, and Antonio Cabral with three well-appointed vessels to protect that place from the sea"¹. In 1599 the Portuguese waged war against Kunhale. The Commander Andres Furtado "proceeded to his destination (*i. e.* against Kunhale), and by the way dissuaded the King of Bangel and the Queen of Olala from assisting the Kunhale, as they had intended to do; he also took five ships from Mecca which were carrying relief to the enemy"².

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century dark days appeared for the Baṅgar Kings. Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka, the Keḷaḍi King, and Abbakkā Dēvī, the Chowṭar Queen, waged war against the Baṅgar King and destroyed the Baṅgar fort on the coast. The causes of the struggle between the Chowṭar Queen and the Baṅgar King were the following:—

1 The Queen of Ullāl, which was the seat of the late Chowṭars, had married the Baṅgar King³. But somehow or other they fell out, mutual visits were stopped, jewels returned, and a war declared.

2 The Queen of Ullāl was an enemy of the Queen of Cārṇāṭe; and against the latter, who was an ally of the Baṅgar King, Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka came with a huge army. Abbakkā Dēvī made common cause with Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka against both the king of Baṅgar and the latter's northern neighbour, the Queen of Cārṇāṭe.

3 The Baṅgar king was a friend of the Portuguese. The Portuguese captain Miranda Anriques captured a rich ship belonging to the Queen of Ullāl, returning from Mecca. She in revenge sided with Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka against the Portuguese who had allied with the Baṅgar king⁴.

4 The faith of the Queen of Ullāl and that of the Keḷaḍi King was the same. Both were Saivites. The family deity of the Chowṭars was "Putia Sōmanātha"⁵ (Puthigeya Sōmanātha, Putige being a small hamlet in the interior of Tu-

¹ Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 548.

² Danvers, o. c., II., p. 199.

³ Della Valle, o. c., II, p. 313; Aygal o. c., p. 278. Mr. Aygal calls the husband of Abbakka Devi, the Chowṭar Queen, as Lakshamana Bangar.

⁴ Danvers, o. c. II, p. 117

⁵ Della Valle, o. c., II, 341.

luva). The Kelāḍi kings, as is well known, were staunch Śaivites. It was to their mutual interest to join against the Baṅgar King, whose god also being Sōmanātha, less orthodox, and who had allied with the foreigners, the Portuguese. It is about this war between the Kelāḍi King together with the Queen of the Chawṭars against the King of the Baṅgar principality allied with the Portuguese that Mr. Rice speaks in the following manner:— “By espousing the cause of the Queen of Ullāl against the Baṅgār raja, he (Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka) came into collision with the Portuguese who call him, Venkapor, King of Canara”¹.

About the year 1617-1618, “when Dom João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, entered upon his duties as Viceroy, a war was in progress at Mangalore, where Salvador Rebeiro was in command. With the assistance of Dom Diego Coutinho, the Commander-in-chief of Malabar, he took the field against 11,000 natives, whom he defeated with a loss of only six men. The King of that Banguel or District, who was friendly with the Portuguese, not being able to protect himself against his enemy Ventaca Naik, made it over to them for defence, and it was accordingly placed under the command of Antonio de Saldanha . . . Soon after this the Portuguese were attacked by a party of Canarese; and the Viceroy therefore sent Francisco de Miranda Anriques with eight vessels and reinforcements . . . Anriquez having captured a rich ship from Mecca, belonging to the Queen of Olala, she in revenge sent a body of men to assist the enemy, who now laid siege to the fort of Banguel, and burnt the town. A sharp engagement ensued, in which both sides lost heavily, but the advantage was claimed to have been in the side of the Portuguese. Anriques then made an attack on the fort of Olala but was repulsed and forced to retire”².

The Baṅgar King fled to a place called Cognoroto³. This is the Portuguese way of naming Kānyarōṭu, modern Kāsaragōḍu⁴. While writing about this war, Mr. Aygal says

¹ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 158.

² Danvers, o. c., II, p. 199 ff.

³ Della Valle, II, pp. 285-286; Aygal, o. c., p. 276.

⁴ Gray, *Pyrad's Voyages*, I, p. 344.

that Mangalore was destroyed by the Keladi King¹. This, however, was not the case. "He (Venkatapa Nāyaka) did not take Mangalore, because he would not, answering the Queen of Olala who urged him to it. That they could do that at any time with much facility, and that 'twas best to let those Portugals remain in that small place (which was rather a house than a fortress) in respect of their countries. After which he came to a treaty with the Portugals, by which he restored the ensigns he had taken from them, and by their means the King of Banguel surrendered the Fort, which Venkatapa, as I said before, demolished, besides making other conditions which are now under consideration, according as is above mentioned in my *Relation of the Embassy to Ikeri*"².

In his letter dated November 22th, 1623, Della Valle speaks in detail of the Bangar-Ikkeri pact. "Venkatapa Naieka had already given our ambassador an answer concerning the affairs which he negotiated, and the Ambassador had prepared a despatch to be sent to the king of Banghel; also another for the Viceroy of Goa, giving him an account of his negotiation, when a Courier arrived from Banghuel with new letters, both for Venkatapa Naie, and the Ambassador, where upon consultation was held as to what answer to return to him; which was soon concluded on the part of Venkatapa Naieka to this effect, (being no other than what I have already mentioned) namely, that he would pay the king of Banghel 7000 Pagodas yearly, according to the Treaty of Peace, provided the said king would come and live in his Court, or in some other place of his country (excepting such lands as were formerly his, for fear he might make new insurrections), or else in Goa, or any of the adjacent places, namely in the island of Salsette, or some place there without the city; but in any case such wherein he may be subject to the Viceroy of Goa; so that Venkatapa might be secure that the said king of Banghel would live peaceably without making new

¹ Aygal, p. 278.

² Della Valle, II, pp. 314-315.

commotions. But in any case (as he seemed to intend he would live neither in Veṅkaṭapa Country, nor in that of Goa, but would continue in Caṅnoroto, where he was at present, (which is a place beyond Mangalore Eastwards, and belongs to another small but free Prince allied to Banghel, whither being near his quondam territories, he had betaken himself), or else would wander here and there like a fugitive and invader, disquieting these countries: then Veṅkaṭapa was resolved not to give him anything at all" ¹.

There was some talk of the Baṅgar King receiving Spanish aid ². But nothing substantial was given to the Baṅgar King by the foreign power which left him to the mercy of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka. The Keḷaḍi King did not, however, break completely the Baṅgar power. Della Valle, it is true, speaks of the Captain-General of the Keḷaḍi King, a Moor of Indian race, by name Mūse Bai (=Mūse Byāri?) in the Banghel territories ³. In 1653 there was a Baṅgar King called Kāmi Arasu Baṅgar, who gave grants of land to the temple of Vīrabhadra, in Indubettu, Puttur Taluk ⁴. Mr. Aygal speaks of Kāmi Raja IV losing all power in 1763 when the British acquired the District ⁵. One of their descendants lives at Baṅgāḍi. The Baṅgars were patrons of learning. About the year 1700 the poet Chandraśēkara flourished in the court of Lakshmaṇa Baṅgar ⁶.

Traces of Baṅgar influence can still be seen in Tuluva. There are towns and families bearing the Baṅgar name. Buchanan speaks of an ancient city in Belṭangady, 32 miles east-north-east of Mangalore ⁷, with a Jaina Temple and a fort belonging to the Baṅgar Rajas ⁸. Baṅgāḍi, 24 miles north-east of Uppinangady, at the foot of the Ghats has ruins of a fort called "Baṅgār-Kottai" ⁹ (Fort of the Baṅgars)

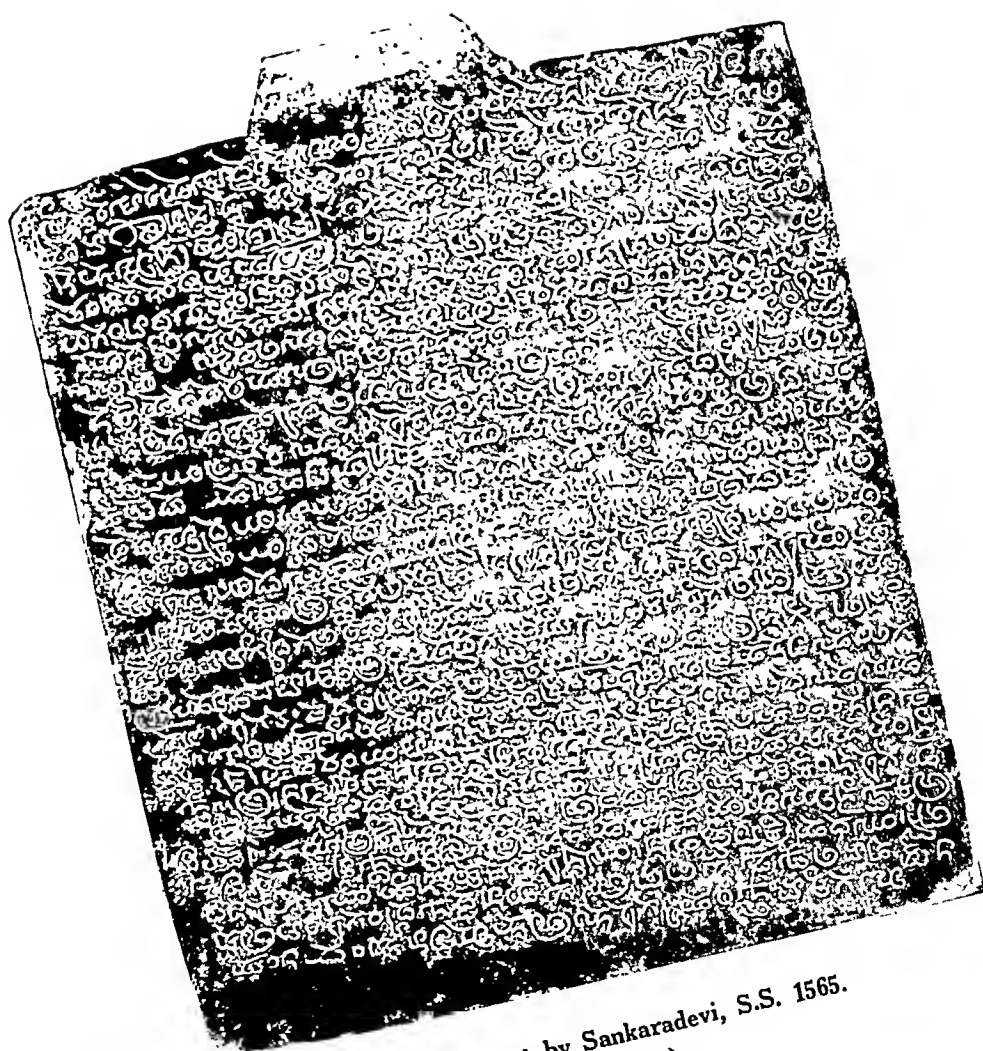
¹ Della Valle, II, pp. 285-286. Kasaragodu is to the southwards and not eastwards of Mangalore. ² Ibid., p. 287.

³ Ibid., p. 247. "Bai" the Editor says, is "Bey" a Turkish suffix.

⁴ Sewell, *Lists*, II, p. 271. Here the Teluk is said to be Uppinangady. ⁵ Aygal, *o. c.*, 284.

⁶ *Kāvicharite*, II, p. 526. ⁷ Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 27.

⁸ Buchanan, *Travels*, II, p. 249. ⁹ Sewell, *Lists*, II, pp. 27-271.



Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1565.
(Obverse.)



Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1565.
(Reverse.)

Three Madras Museum Copperplate Grants

Baṅgra-Kūḷūru, in Harēkalā māgne, 4 miles north of Mangalore¹, was named after a Baṅgar ruler. In Kuttīyār, in the Mujūra māgne, near Guruvāyinakere, 12 miles north-north-east of Uppinangady, there is a Baṅgar fort, and a mandapam called Baṅgar Dūpe. The Dūpe marks the spot where one of the former Baṅgars was interred². Baṅgar-mangēśvara is a small Railway-station to the south of Ullāl. An influential and educated Billavar family in Mangalore goes by the name of the Baṅgars.

T e x t.

Nirriḡnamastu namastunga shirastambi Chandra Chā-
 mara Chāra vetrai nagarambha mūla sthambhāya Śambhave
 Svasti Ōm jayābhūdaya Śālivāhana Śaka varuṣa 1565
 neya Svabhānu samvatsarada Kārtika Bahula Panchami
 Sthiravāradallu Śrīmatu Viranarasimha Lakshmappa arasa
 Baṅgara vaḍa huḷḷida rāda Shankara Dēvi Rāṇi Baṅgaru
 Bhaṇḍi Yellappanāyakana maga Dāsappa nāyakage koṭṭa
 Dharmaśāsanada paṭṭiya krama vententa endare ninu Kodi-
 yālada Kōṭeya keḷage kereyannu kaṭṭisi mathavannuṭṭi iikas
 ā mathada dharmmakke namage hēlikoḷalāgi namma aramane
 bhūmi Adyāra grāmadalli seṭṭiraliya gaivavaḷa (?) bayala-
 guttinindakaḷa sige mūrara ayivattu muḍi akkiya svāsthe-
 bhūmiya chatuṣ sime vivara—mūḍalu Kemmanjūru guḍḍey-
 indam paḍuvalu Teṅkalu bayalu bhāgada guḍḍeyindam Baḍ-
 agalu Baḍagalu kinna mūḍa guḍḍeyindam Teṅkalu Paḍuvalu
 Kumbale Timmana gaddeyindam mūḍalu Valabayila bayalu
 bhāgada gadde samīpa paṭṭila gadde antu chatuṣ sime yōḷa-
 gāda bhūmige saluva bijavari bayalugadde bija doḍḍa muḍi
 6paṭṭila gadde 3 kke muḍi 3 beṭṭugadde antu chatuṣ sime yōḷa-
 12 kke saluva geṇi akki muḍi 50 ayivattu muḍi
 maragaḷu baḍagalu māvina mara vōṭe mara 1 paḍuvalu bīnda
 mane 1 kke bāvi 1 māvina mara 2 mūḍalu māvina mara 2
 saha namma sva ruchiyinda dharmapurvakevāgi namma
 kulasvāmi Sōmanāthārpitavāgi Koṭṭevāgi ā svāsthiyannu
 Uḍupi Vidyārājasvāmigaḷa sishherāda Vishnumurtisvāmigaḷa
 sankēṭava māḍisidava anna dāna dharmmakke ayivattummuḍi

² Ibid., II, p. 271.

akki svāsthe bhumiyanu Vāmana mudre shile sthāpitana
 māḍi koṭṭu yī dharmmakke biṭṭevāgi yī sthāḷada chatuṣ sīme
 voḷogana nidhi nikshēpa jala pāshāṇa akshi āgāmi sidha
 sādhiyaṅgalimba appa bhūga tējasvāmyagalanū anubhaviṣi-
 koṇḍu nimma santāna pārapare yāgi, āchandrārka sāyiga-
 ḷāgi yī dharmavannu Vishvamurti svāmigala Sankētadalli
 naḍisi koṇḍu bāhe yidakke namma santāna parampare. . .
 yāgi aluṣida pakshadalli Kāshiyalli sahasra gō hatya māḍida
 pātakakke bāhevu namma kula Svāmi Sōmanātha Dēvara
 pādakke Tappidavaru yendu koṭṭa dharma Śāsana yidakke
 dharmasākshigaḷu Āditya Chandrav anilānalaścha dyanir
 bhumir āpō hridayam Yamas cha ahaś cha ratrischa ubhā
 cha Sandhye dharmas cha jānāti n (arasaya) vrittam (sva)
 dattām para dattām vā yī hareta Vasundharām Śashtir va-
 rusha sahasrāni vishṭāyam jāyati krimihi svadattād dvigu-
 nam puṇyam para dattānupālānam paradattāpahārēṇa sva-
 dattam nishphalam bhavētu dānāt svargam avāpnōti pālānād
 Achiyutam padam Sri Somanatha.

B. *The Baṅgar Plate of Śaka 1566.*

It is similar to the one given above, and records the grant of two villages Puda and Amrapāḍi, in the Kāṇanchi 'sime with all rights by Vīra Narasiṃha Shankara Dēvī, sister of Lakshmappa arasa Baṅgar, to Venkaṭapati Dēva of the Sāndalya Gōtra, Ashlāyana Śūtra, of the Palace, in the first day in the month of Kārtika in the year Tārana, Śaka 1566 (21st October 1644) ¹. Both these plates are written in modern Kannada.

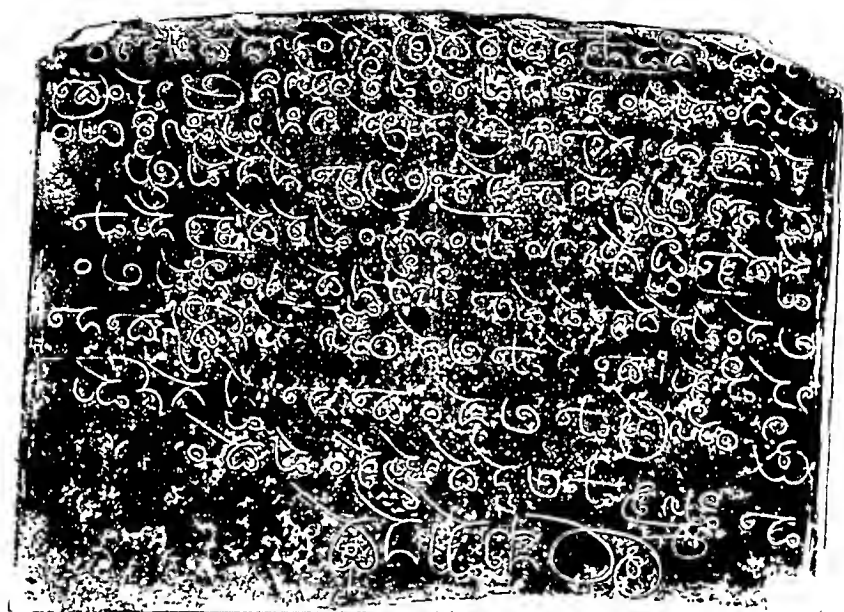
T e x t .

Namastunga Shiraś chumbi chandra chāmara chāra vē-
 trai (lōkya) nagarāmbha mūlasthambhāya Sambhavē Svasti
 Sri Jayābhīyudaya Śālivāhana Śaka Varusha 1566 ne Tārana
 sanivadsarada kārtika śudha I lū Śrīmatu Lakshmappara-
 sarāda Baṅgara Taṅgi Viranarashimha Sankara Dēvi Barga-
 rū Sāndalya Gōtrada Ashlāyana Śūtrada Rājū Kemanavarte
 Venkaṭapati Dēvagaliḡe Koṭṭa bhūdānada Tām braśāsanada

¹ Henderson, o. c., p. 60. Rangachari, o. c., II, p. 818.

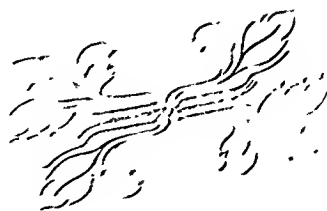


Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1566.
(Obverse.)



Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1566.
(Reverse.)

pratikrama venta endare namma Kāṇanchi sīme voḷagana
 Pudugrāmadalli Tumbenanda salūda ga 40 da bhūmige chat
 tusime vivara. Tumbeda Kaṇiveyindam mūḍalu Nētrāvatī
 Hoḷeyindam baḍagalu unmayisipi āthuvātha dindam (?) pa-
 duvalu Vanchimaṭhadindam teṅkalu yī barada nālvattu vara
 (ha) da huṭṭuvalige nimage Koṭṭabhūmi ānu bhavisi bāhīri
 Ambavāḍi grāma doḷagana Baḍāyiyindam ga 24 da bhūmige
 chatus sīme vivara Ulgraje sālininda mūḍalu Pida male pa-
 davininda teṅkalu Āṇilepadavininda paḍuvalu Āmbavāḍy-
 Ubhayam Tumbeya Baḍājiyinda saha ga 64 yī aruvattunāl-
 ku varahana dānārthavāgi Koṭṭa aruvattunālkuvarahana bhūmige
 nāvu dānārthavāgi Koṭṭa aruvattunālkuvarahana bhūmige
 pa hola mane yinli ashṭha bhōga sarvasvāmyavanu nivu
 āgumāḍikoṇḍu naḍasikoṇḍu ānubhavisī bāhīri endu Koṭṭa
 bhūdāna tambrāsāsana paṭṭe Svadattādvigunam puṇyam pa-
 radattānupālunam paradattāpahāreṇa svadattam nishphalam
 bhavētu dāna pālana yōrmaḍhye dānāksheyōnrupālanam dā-
 nā svargam āpnōti pālanād Achyutam bhavētu Śrī Sōma-
 nātha.



The Year of Shivaji's Birth, 1627 or 1630?

By Prof. K. H. Kamdar, M. A.

For the last four years a very acute controversy has been raging in Mahārashtra over the important question of Shivaji's birth-date. It has now assumed a continental and academic importance of the highest value. The life of Shivaji no longer stands as a local episode in Indian history. It is a great national asset. The sources of its history in Marathi must be adjusted and reconciled to contemporary Persian and European accounts. But the difference of opinion on the birth-date of the great king needs an early settlement from another standpoint. The advocates of the two dates, 1627 and 1630, have adduced evidence, the examination of which goes to the very root of scientific research in Indian history. It raises the most important question of methodology. The plain issue is how far the historian should accept or reject particular types of evidence in historical investigations.

It is necessary to clear up one point at the outset. The writer of these notes does not bid for favour from any one of the parties—the party of 1627 and the party of 1630. He will try to approach the question as an unbiased student and teacher of Indian history.

The traditional year of Shivaji's birth is 1627 A. D. or Śaka 1549. Grant Duff, Ranade, Prof. Limaye, Rajvade, Sardesai and Kincaid, distinguished names in the literature of Maratha history, do not dispute the date. They are reinforced by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, the eminent, judicious and painstaking writer of the history of Aurungzeb's reign.

Grant Duff accepted the year 1627, but fixed the month in March. The now accepted month is April. There are discrepancies with regard to the day of the birth, ranging from the second to the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha. But these small discrepancies are irrelevant to the subject under discussion here. The year, 1630, is supported mainly by some workers in Maratha history in Poona, the chief of

